

## Message Text

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45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 NIC-01 DRC-01 /131 W

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R 191625Z SEP 73

FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 564

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USNAVCOMMSTA LONDON DERRY

UNCLAS BELFAST 144

SEPTEMBER 19 1973.

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, UK (NI)

SUBJECT: HEATH STATEMENT(S) ON INTEGRATION OF NI IN GREAT BRITAIN

REF: BELFAST 143

1. AS FORESEEN BELFAST 143 HEATH'S MENTION IN BBC INTERVIEW OF INTEGRATION AS POSSIBILITY IF EXECUTIVE COULD NOT BE FORMED PUT CAN AMONG PIGEONS HERE. POLITICANS OF ALL PERSUASIONS WERE CLEARLY SURPRISED AND UNSURE OF WHAT PM ACTUALLY HAD IN MIND. MOST COMMENTING BEFORE BEING AWARE HEATH HAD REPEATED STATEMENT IN SUBSEQUENT TV INTERVIEW ON ANOTHER CHANNEL AND MADE EXPLANATORY REMARKS IN SPEECH LAST NIGHT, SEEMED READY TO THINK HEATH MISSPOKE HIMSELF, DID NOT MEAN WHAT HE SAID, OR HAD NOT COMPLETELY THOUGHT MATTER THROUGH (ALL POSSIBILITIES NI POLITICIANS KNOW TO BE ENTIRELY UNCHARACTERISTIC OF PM). ALMOST ALL AGREED THAT IMMEDIATE CLARIFICATION BY PM IS REQUIRED.

2. IF PURPOSE WAS, AS STATEMENT ITSELF IMPLIES, TO URGE PARTIES HERE TO GET TOGETHER AND QUIT STALLING ON FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE, EFFECT OF STATEMENT WOULD SEEM TO BE PRECISELY OPPOSITE. FAULKNER UNCLASSIFIED

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AND PAISLEY HAVE BOTH POINTED OUT THAT HEATH NOW HAD ADUMBRATED A POSSIBILITY HITHERTO BELIEVED CLOSED OUT NOT ONLY BY REPEATED STATEMENTS TO OLD STORMONT GOVERNMENT BEFORE DIRECT RULE, BUT ALSO BY ARTICLE 44 OF GREEN PAPER. PRO-UNION POLITICIANS NATURALLY

NOW WILL HAVE TO KNOW EXACT MEANING OF INTEGRATION OPTION BEFORE THEY CAN TAKE VALID DECISIONS ON WHETHER TO ACCEPT POWER SHARING WITH REPUBLICANS AND ON WHAT TERMS. FAULKNER HAS MADE THIS POINT SPECIFICALLY. AT SAME TIME, THOSE UNPLEDGED LOYALISTS WHO MIGHT HAVE BEEN TEMPTED TO GO ALONG WITH PLEDGED (AND TWO GROUPS ARE MEETING TO SEE IF A MODUS VIVENDI CAN BE WORKED OUT) HAVE BEEN GIVEN SOME REASON TO THINK OBSTRUCTIONISM MIGHT BE WISER COURSE. FITT HAS ALREADY MADE THIS OBSERVATION.

3. FOR RECORD, LANGUAGE ENCLOSED IN QUOTES IN PARA,1 OF BELFAST 142 SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN: IT WAS REPORTING OFFICER'S RECOLLECTION OF TV STATEMENT, TRANSCRIPT SHOWS ACTUAL EXCHANGE, BETWEEN BBC REPORTER AND HEATH RESPONDING TO QUESTION ON WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF EXECUTIVE WERE NOT FORMED BY MARCH 1974, TO HAVE BEEN AS FOLLOWS: QTE HEATH: UNDER THE CONSTITUTION ACT, IF IT IS NOT FORMED, WELL THEN, WE GO BACK TO RESPONSIBILITY AT WESTMINSTER, WHICH IS DIRECT RULE, AND I THINK THIS TIME PEOPLE WOULD FEEL, WELL, WE CANNOT HAVE CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY AND IT IS MUCH BETTER THAT THE WHOLE THING SHOULD BE ARRANGED ON AN INTEGRATED UNITED KINGDOM BASIS AND THEN WE SHALL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE EFFICIENT AND FAIR GOVERNMENT OVER THE WHOLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. I DO NOT THINK IT IS POSSIBLE ONCE AGAIN TO GO ON WHAT WAS REALLY A TEMPORARY BASIS, SAYING "WE ARE DOING THIS FOR A YEAR OR PERHAPS, AT THE MOST 18 MONTHS WHILE WE CREATE A FRESH FORM OF GOVERNMENT" MR. FAACKES: YOU MEAN EXTRA MPS AT WESTMINSTER? MR. HEATH: WELL, I AM NOT COMMITTING MYSELF SPECIFICALLY TO THAT, BUT I THINK PEOPLE WOULD SAY "WELL, THEN, LET US NOW DECIDE THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A PROPERLY INTEGRATED FORM OF GOVERNMENT." NOW, OF COURSE, SOME PEOPLE NO DOUBT IN NORTHERN IRELAND WANT THIS ALREADY WILL TRY TO WRECK THE ASSEMBLY OR THE EXECUTIVE FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW AND THOSE WHO REALLY WANT TO SHARE POWER AND REALLY WANT TO GOVERN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS SHOULD BEAR THIS IN MIND AND THEY SHOULD THEREFORE SEEK THE SOLUTION OF COMING TOGETHER UNQTE

4. FOLLOWING IS SUBSTANCE OF STATEMENTS MADE BY VARIOUS POLITICOS HERE: A ROY BRADFORD, UNIONIST (AND TIPPED AS POSSIBLE UNCLASSIFIED

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REPLACEMENT OF FAULKNER AS ASSEMBLY PARTY LEADER) : STATE SURPRISED ME: IT SEEMED UNCONSIDERED AND ILL-CONSIDERED. PM WAS TRYING TO CRACK WHIP, BUT IT DIDNT COME OFF. BOTH MAJOR PARTIES IN LONDON ARE AGAINST INTEGRATION, SO ARE BOTH PARTIES IN DUBLIN, SO IS SDLP AND A LARGE NUMBER OF NORTHERN PROTESTANTS. RETRACTION WILL COME GRADUALLY, AND WE'LL BE BACK TO SQUARE ONE, I.E. WHERE WE WERE AT END OF MEETING WITH COSGRAVE AND BEFORE TV INTERVIEW. B FAULKNER: HEATH'S STATEMENT INTRODUCES A NEW DIMENSION INTO THE WHOLE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION, HITHERTO MR. HEATH, MR. WHITELAW AND LEADERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY AT WESTMINSTER HAVE MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR, BOTH IN PARLIAMENT AND OUTSIDE IT, THAT INTEGRATION WITH INCREASED MEMBERS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AT WESTMINSTER WAS NOT A VIABLE POLICY. MR. HEATH MUST NOW STATE

QUITE CLEARLY WHAT HE INTENDS FOR THE FUTURE. IS HE STATING THAT IF AN EXECUTIVE IS NOT FORMED HERE THAT NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BE GIVEN EXTRA MEMBERS AT WESTMINSTER? IS HE STATING THAT THERE IS BI-PARTISAN SUPPORT AT WESTMINSTER FOR THIS POLICY? OR IS HE SAYING THAT THIS IS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THAT THEY WOULD INTEND TO PUT IT INTO EFFECT WITH OR WITHOUT LABOUR PARTY SUPPORT? THESE QUESTIONS MUST BE ANSWERED AT ONCE BECAUSE IT IS CLEARLY NOT POSSIBLE FOR ULSTER POLITICIANS TO TAKE PART IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE FORMATION OF AN EXECUTIVE HERE IF THERE IS THIS NEW DIMENSION INTRODUCED. THE WHOLE SITUATION NEEDS AND MUST HAVE URGENT CLARIFICATION. MR. PAISLEY: AFTER END OF STORMONT I TOOK LINE THERE SHOULD BE RETURN OF SOVEREIGN PARLIAMENT OR COMPLETE INTEGRATION OF NI INTO GREAT BRITAIN. HMG GAVE NEITHER. WHAT NOW IS REQUIRED IS CLEAR STATEMENT BY PREMIER SPELLING OUT WHAT HE MEANS. QUESTION OF INTEGRATION HAS NEVER BEEN PUT TO PEOPLE OF NI. NO ONE CAN SAY WHAT THEIR VIEW IS. IF PUT TO THE PEOPLE, BOTH PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS WOULD IN THEIR NUMBERS CHOOSE TO BE RULED FROM WESTMINSTER AND NOT BY REPUBLICANS. AFTER ALL WE ARE UNIONISTS, AND BEST FORM AND HIGHEST FORM OF UNIONISM WOULD BE TOTAL INTEGRATION. D VANGUARD UNIONIST PROGRESSIVE PARTY ISSUED STATEMENT SAYING MANY LOYALISTS HAD IN PAST EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR FULL INTEGRATION. PARTY STILL BELIEVES FULL PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE RESTORED IN NI. BUT WOULD BE INTERESTED TO LEARN MORE OF WHAT PM HAS IN MIND. E NAPIER: ARGUMENTS IN GREEN PAPER AGAINST INTEGRATION STILL HOLD GOOD. FULL INTEGRATION IS NO PANACEA. NOT ONLY WOULD IT NOT NECESSARILY STOP VIOLENCE, BUT GUARANTEES OF NI CONSTITUTION ACT 1973 WOULD GO OUT WINDOW. WESTMINSTER COULD DECIDE WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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DUBLIN, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO PEOPLE OF NI, ABOUT NI PROBLEM. THIS WOULD NOT BE PRACTICABLE, NOR WOULD IT BE ACCEPTABLE. PM SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THROWING UP AN OPTION UNACCEPTABLE TO A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE OF NI AND OF A NONSECTARIAN BASIS AT THAT. F HUME: INTEGRATION IS STILL A DEAD DUCK. IT IS NOT A SERIOUS OPTION: IF IT HAD BEEN, PM WOULD HAVE RAISED IT WITH COSGROVE AND IN HIS SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE. PM WAS TRYING TO FORCE PACE ON FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE FIRST, LEAVING DISCUSSION OF OTHER THINGS, I.E. COUNCIL OF IRELAND, UNTIL AFTERWARD. THIS WAS POSITION HE TOOK IN TALKS WITH COSGRAVE. WHO WANTED SIMULTANEOUS PROGRESS ON THESE MATTERS. LABOUR PARTY IN BRITAIN WOULD NEVER AGREE. IT IS FOOLISH TO IMPLY THAT ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES HERE ARE NOT WORKING BEST INTERESTS OF NI, AND WHAT HEATH SAID ONLY ENCOURAGES THOSE DETERMINED TO PREVENT THE FORMATION OF AN EXECUTIVE. G FITT: HEATH'S COMMENT IS VERY UNFORTUNATE. HE PROBABLY DIDN'T MEAN WHAT HE SAID: IT WAS PROBABLY A SLIP OF TONGUE. FOR PM KNOWS INTEGRATION WOULD NOT MEET WITH SUPPORT OF POLITICAL LEADERS AT WESTMINSTER. THIS TYPE OF REMARK CAN ONLY HELP THOSE MEN OF VIOLENCE WHO HAD DEDICATED THEMSELVES TO WRECK ASSEMBLY TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS.

5. WHATEVER PM'S PURPOSE, IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE HE SEES INTEGRATION

AS VALID OPTION, FOR IN ADDITION TO ARGUMENTS AGAINST IN GREEN PAPER,  
INTEGRATION WOULD SEEM SURE WAY TO INSURE FOR INDEFINITE FUTURE  
DANGER, IF NOT FACT, IF IRO VIOLENCE IN ENGLAND AND CONTINUATION  
OF IRISH QUESTION IN BRITISH POLITICS.  
PENBERTHY

UNCLASSIFIED

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 10 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 SEP 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973BELFAS00144  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** BELFAST  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730963/abqceeda.tel  
**Line Count:** 170  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** BELFAST 143  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** willialc  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06-Aug-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <16-Aug-2001 by willialc>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** HEATH STATEMENT(S) ON INTEGRATION OF NI IN GREAT BRITAIN  
**TAGS:** PINT, UK, EI  
**To:** STATE INFO LONDON  
DUBLIN  
USNAVCOMMSTA LONDONDERRY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005